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It is pointed out that there is little expert research on the effects of de facto segregation in schools in the North and the West. Too often an oversimplified casual relationship is drawn which explains the educational gap between white and Negro students in de facto segregated schools. Other factors considered in analyzing educational status differences are quality of teaching, home and neighborhood influences, and the nature of the influence of biracial classes on pupils of both races. A simple count of the concentration of Negroes in a given school becomes sufficient motivation for many parents to press for desegregation. The suggested integration methods of pairing, redistricting, busing, and new school locations can be effective measures, especially in small communities. Integrating the inner core area schools of large cities, however, raises special problems which can be resolved in varying degrees by free choice transfer policies, opening special schools in ghetto areas for which white students would be recruited, and cooperation between public schools and prestigious universities, church groups, and private schools. (NH)

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THE URBAN SCHOOL CRISIS

An Anthology of Essays

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3 SCHOOL INTEGRATION POLICIES IN NORTHERN CITIES

by Nathan Glazer

The problem of "de facto" segregation in Northern and Western schools, as it has come to be known, is a relatively recent one. The question was first raised shortly after the Supreme Court decision of 1954 by Kenneth Clark, a Negro professor of psychology in the City College of New York who had testified in the school segregation cases, and whose scientific work had supplied some of the basis for the finding that the South's "separate but equal" schools could not inherently provide equal education. Dr. Clark argued that Negroes in New York City, too, attended what were in effect segregated schools and received an inferior education, and that the Supreme Court decision should also be applied in the North. He also charged that there had been some gerrymandering of districts to separate whites and Negroes.

Differences Between North and South

Liberal educators and social psychologists emphasize that the education of white children in schools without more than token numbers of Negroes is defective in the same way as education of Negro children in schools with only a token number of whites: both get a distorted view of our society and are deprived of certain important learning experiences. Thus desegregation should mean not only the introduction of Negro students into white schools, but also the introduction of white children into all-Negro schools. . . . The voices of those who argue that this might have some beneficial effect on the education of whites are ignored by all the important political forces, white and Negro alike.

Where there has been a conscious effort to restrict Negroes to Negro schools, there is no question that federal courts will act against such policies. But what if, as is more typical, a color-blind effort to draw neighborhood school boundaries results in some largely Negro schools, in a school district of mostly white schools? Many cases dealing with this situation are now working their way through the court system, and we may soon have rulings of the Supreme Court on such a question. But the variations

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from district to district are so enormous that it will be difficult if not impossible for the Supreme Court to come up with a ruling as clear and as far-reaching as its 1954 decision. In some districts the courts may be asked to rule on 100 percent Negro schools that cannot easily be affected by the redrawing of school zone boundaries, and in others on schools with a minority of Negroes, who may nevertheless represent all the Negroes of a town. Is it segregation when all the Negro children of a school district go to one school—even if that school has 50 percent or more non-Negro children? And is it segregation when many go to all-Negro schools —even though more than half the Negro school children of the entire school district go to schools with some white children?

In some areas a relatively simple redrawing of school lines will produce an effective dispersion of Negro children through a number of schools—and in many places where this is possible and urged, even this approach has been strongly resisted. But in others the redrawing of lines will only produce two or three somewhat less segregated schools for one more segregated one. This would have been one effect of redrawing district lines in New Rochelle to eliminate an almost all-Negro school; it would have made the next two schools more than 50 percent Negro.

In some communities the issue is one only of the proportions of Negro school children in different schools; in many the issue is also one of the proportions of Negro teachers and administrators. And where, as in Philadelphia, there are substantial proportions of Negro school teachers and administrators, one major issue is that they have been assigned largely to all-Negro schools and areas! (The school district denies a conscious policy in assignment.) Thus, we may see how logically a demand for de facto desegregation of schools would lead to the demand for a subtle mix of color-blind and color-conscious policies. From the point of view of policy-making to achieve a certain end this might not be a problem; from the point of view of the law, which tries to implement a single principle consistently, this may be a problem. In Philadelphia, it is argued that the school authorities should be color-conscious in setting school zones—so as not to come up with a de facto segregated school inadvertently; but color-blind in assigning personnel—so as to prevent the assignment of Negro teachers and personnel to largely Negro schools.

Educational Effects

But now if the *principle* is to be abandoned (that the policy-maker and administrator should take no account of race), what is to determine policy? Clearly what is best for education. And if we raise such a criterion, we come to the most difficult of all the questions we can ask about school segregation in North and West. What *is* its effect on the education of Negro children? It was on grounds of educational impact, after all, that the Supreme Court ruled against the Southern segregated schools. And if we are to argue in Northern and Western cities, in the school boards, the communities, the streets, and in the courts, for a subtle mix of policies bearing on color—the closing of this school, the placing of new schools, the assignment of personnel by color and capacity to schools of different

colors and capacity, the replacement of neighborhood schools by educational parks—then we must have some criteria for these demands, and school boards must have some criteria on the basis of which they resist or accede to them, or indeed press forward with them, as some would be inclined to do even in the absence of pressure.

On this question, we are dependent on expert opinion, and expert opinion has almost nothing to provide in the way of good research to support its views. I think any group of educators, sociologists, and psychologists would agree that the effect of de facto segregation is probably bad. But is 50 percent Negro better than 70 percent? Seventy percent better than 90 percent? These questions are not meaningless because often expensive and inconvenient means to reduce a certain percentage of Negroes in a school will be demanded.

Where comparisons have been made—in New York City and elsewhere—the children in the de facto segregated schools are generally a few years behind the children in the largely white school. To ascribe this difference, however, to the concentration of Negro students as such would be the same mistake as to ascribe the actual differences in intelligence test performance between Negroes and whites to inherent racial differences—in both cases, a complex result is being ascribed to a single cause.

By-products of Segregation

In most cities, the Negro schools will be older and more crowded, reflecting the increase in Negro population in inner city areas, and the difficulty of keeping up with it by new school buildings—now further complicated by opposition to building new schools in Negro areas. In most cities, classes in the Negro schools will be larger. (Large enrollments may be balanced somewhat, as in New York, by the assignment of specialized professional personnel—remedial reading teachers, psychologists, and the like—but this policy does not bring down average class size.) In most cases, the segregated schools will have more provisional or substitute teachers. This last point was one of the major findings in the 1954 New York City study, and the efforts of the Board of Education since then to increase the proportion of regular teachers in these schools has not been successful. One reason is that teachers have privileges of transferring from one school to another. This is true in most school districts. Teachers may be assigned initially to a given school, but their freedom to transfer cannot be easily restricted. In a big-city school system that is already suffering from a shortage of teachers, the teacher who is refused a transfer can

Social Factors

These differences—crowding, age of building, quality of teachers—may be significant factors leading to differences in educational achievement. But probably far more important are home and neighborhood influences. These may be very practical matters, such as the difficulty of finding a place to study; difficulty in getting the small sums for books or special school projects; absence of older siblings or parents who can help with school work. They may be emotional problems, such as the effect of

a disorganized home and neighborhood, with a high incidence of families deserted by husbands and of crime and delinquency; or the absence of suitable "role models" (good students, adults who went through school and hold respected places in family and neighborhood). There may be cultural reasons for poor school performance: the children may not know the right things for success in school, or, as Frank Riessman[1] has argued, their "cultural style" in learning may be different from that characteristic for middle-class children.

Now in describing these varying influences that generally come along with de facto segregation, I have assumed that the de facto segregated school is also a slum or lower-class school. This is generally the case; and it is this which makes it so difficult for us to say what the effect of the concentration as such is.

The most suggestive research on this question does not deal directly with the problem of de facto segregation; the studies of James Coleman and Alan Wilson are concerned rather with school atmospheres and how they are created.[2] It is clear from this work that a school that has an atmosphere in which academic performance is encouraged will show better achievement for most of the children in the school—and this is true independently of the socio-economic backgrounds of the children. Alan Wilson has shown that a high proportion of children from professional backgrounds in the school will raise the achievements and aspirations of the children from working-class backgrounds.

From these findings, it is reasonable to conclude tentatively that, other conditions remaining equal, Negro children from poor backgrounds will do better in a school in which they do not form a large majority than in a school in which they make up the great majority of the school population.

Policy Issues

But the fact remains that our knowledge of the effects of de facto segregation in schools in the North and West is crude and speculative. We know the situation is far more varied and far more complex than in the South, where segregation was enforced by a public body, by law, and admitted of no exceptions. Perhaps to the Negro child in Harlem surrounded by other Negro children this difference is of no importance. But even in New York City this is not the situation of most Negro children: most go to schools where there are some whites, and they can see with their own eyes that no one is enforcing a line of rigid division between Negroes and whites. It consequently becomes reasonable to ask, what is the effect of this kind of segregation on educational achievement? And what measures to correct it are justified? What gains may we expect to get from desegregated education, and what costs—political and economic —may be justified to achieve it?

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1. Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper, 1962).

2. James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, (New York: Free Press, 1961); Alan S. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," *American Sociological Review, XXIV* (December, 1959), 836-45.

But before we leave the question of the educational impact of segregation and desegregation, we must point out that the argument that the educational atmosphere created by students of high aspiration will have a beneficial effect on students of different background is in some measure a double-edged sword. If we believe that the atmosphere created by a student body is crucial for educational achievement; and if we believe further that a majority of Negro students create an atmosphere that is bad for their education; then it is not unreasonable that white parents should conclude that it also creates an atmosphere that is bad for *their* children. It is, of course, equally reasonable for Negro parents to seek an atmosphere in which their children are integrated with a majority of children who create a better atmosphere for education. We approach then a situation which may legitimately be called tragic when the proportion of Negro children in a city school system passes 50 percent; there are simply not enough whites left to satisfy the demands of both Negroes and whites for a racial balance that is best for education, no matter what is done.

But I must add that we really know almost nothing of the effect upon white children of going to school with a majority of Negro children, just as we know almost nothing of the effect on Negro children of going to school with different proportions of white children. One argument of proponents of integration in Northern and Western schools is that it is not the Negro concentration as such which is bad for education, but rather that school boards pay more attention to white schools than Negro schools, just as sanitation and police departments give better service in white areas. This may be the effect of prejudice; of the "invisibility" of the Negro to public officials; or of the low pressure or no pressure placed on school boards by Negro parents compared with white parents. Certainly these last two factors cannot be playing much of a role in Northern and Western cities these days.

It is also argued that one reason for poor educational performance is the low level of expectation of white teachers, and consequently the low demands they place on Negro students. It is argued that just as teachers expect little from the students, principals expect little from their teachers—they may be happy to keep them at all—and counsellors suggest further education or jobs that also demand little from Negro students.

If these factors, or the factors of cultural background, family circumstances, or neighborhood conditions are important contributors to the low educational achievement of Negro children, then integration as such may do little to raise performance levels. Indeed, if under Northern conditions, segregation is not one of the crucial elements leading to poor results in the education of Negro children, then it may also be true that minorities of white children in Negro schools may not be adversely affected—perhaps in an "integrated" school, there may be enough Negro and enough white children for each to maintain their distinctive educational "atmosphere," and the teachers may still subtly differentiate in their treatment of Negro and white children, and the desperate battle for Negro parents to "integrate" the school and for white parents to resist it may both, ironically, be in vain. But actually we do not know

enough to do more than raise such speculations.

In any case, when an issue is as important as education, which is critical in getting one's child into college, and which is critical in determining what kind of job and income he gets, most parents, Negro or white, are not going to wait for the results of reseach to make their decisions in a cool and objective fashion. Whatever the research, parents know well enough that more children from one school than another get into college, or into a certain college; they will not be very impressed by liberal social psychologists who point out that there is more to education than grades and getting into colleges—that there are important experiences involving learning about people and life. Parents can see grades and college admissions quite clearly; they cannot see quite as clearly such other values as racial tolerance or social understanding, which some social scientists assume will follow from the integrated setting.

And if this supplies one group of motivations in the present situation (for white and Negro parents alike), another group of motivations is provided by the simple statistics of how many in a school are Negro; these are the easiest statistics to compile, much easier than statistics of academic achievement or IQ, let alone statistics of social or emotional maturity. And it is these statistics that are the dynamite in the present situation, not the statistics of educational inferiority. In view of the history of the Negro in America, any institution which is largely Negro —except the Negro church or Negro social lodge—spells discrimination, segregation, prejudice. Symbolically, it is a flag which demands abolition. The issue is not only an educational one; it reflects the entire history of the Negro in America, and even the best imaginable schools, if they are largely Negro schools, will remind Negroes, I suspect, of the show schools built in the South to ward off the Supreme Court decision. Under these circumstances, the proposal of "compensatory education," presented as a substitute for integration, will only be a red flag.

Planning for School Integration

If we define integration as Negroes going to schools with a majority of whites, in our largest cities this is rapidly becoming an impossibility. However, the issue is not confined to our largest cities; and even there, a great deal can be done to increase the proportions of Negro students who have the opportunity to attend schools with a majority of white students. A by-now well-known armory of devices has been built up, both in liberal suburban towns, particularly in the area of New York City, and in some of the larger cities, particularly in New York and St. Louis. If the practices of these towns and cities were more widespread, I think there would probably be some benefits in the education of Negro children without any loss to white children. It must also be added—as the experience of New York City illustrates—that this probably would do little to reduce social tensions, boycotts, perhaps riots in those cities where the demographic facts make an ideal measure of integration impossible. These measures should be pushed even if they do not bring social peace, because they improve the education of a group which is poorly educated and because they increase the freedom of all children

and all parents to seek the education which they think is best.

The situation is easiest in the suburban towns, where the Negro population is typically a smaller proportion of the whole, and the Negro children of school age are thus a smaller proportion of all the children of school age. There, characteristically a single school has tended to become largely Negro as the Negro population has grown. Other, almost all-white schools are nearby, and the situation has been particularly frustrating to Negro parents, who in any case are likely to include more prosperous and more ambitious families than in city slums. New York and New Jersey have both had in recent years energetic school commissioners devoted to integration, and they have put pressure on school districts to come up with integration plans. These have included various versions of the "Princeton plan," in which two nearby schools share grades, with all the children of one grade from a pair of school districts going to one of the two schools. Thus a ten percent Negro school and 90 percent Negro school, put together, can (if they are roughly the same size) provide grades that are 50 percent Negro.

Another common approach is the dispersion of the Negro children through the town. In New Rochelle, the Negro district around a school in the center of the city was first allowed by the school board to send children to any other district; later the Negro school was closed. This has recently been decided upon in White Plains, and has been proposed or carried through in other communities around New York. In New Rochelle the abandoned Negro school was old; in White Plains it was new.

Another approach is to redraw the school district lines. If the Negro area is relatively small and surrounded by white areas, this may be simple. But sometimes the Negro and white districts are divided by railroads and industrial districts and it is not easy to redraw the lines so as to integrate a group of nearby schools. The Negro area may be an extension of the Negro district of a large city, and consequently may suggest to white parents the oncoming edge of a "Negro invasion," and may lead many to withdraw their children from school into private or parochial schools, or to consider moving. (This is more typically a problem in a big city.)

Many variations on these approaches may be rung. Berkeley, California, has a substantial Negro population concentrated in the southeast corner of the city adjacent to the large Negro population of Oakland. Negroes already form more than two-fifths of the school population. The three junior high schools are so located that one is largely Negro, one largely white, and the third more evenly mixed. A proposal was made to rezone the two segregated schools. This would have involved a good deal of traveling for many children, and more significantly aroused great anxiety in many white parents over sending their children to a largely Negro school. An alternate proposal was then made that the three junior high schools each take a single grade, along the lines of the Princeton Plan. This suggestion broke up the rigid lines beginning to form in the community around the proposal to rezone the junior high schools, and a new proposal has been hammered out which places the Negro junior high school under the nearby (integrated) high school, and makes it the first year of a new four-year high school, while the other two schools split

the city between them as two-year junior high schools.

Some of these changes involve providing transportation of children. Again, there are many variations: sometimes parents pay for the transportation of children, but this is generally an early stage, and transportation cost is soon accepted as a public expense. Bussing has raised the question of the "integration" of children into classes in a largely white school. Do the children come as a contingent, in their own classes? This approach, while convenient administratively, would only shift school de facto segregation to class de facto segregation. If one mixes the children, is the gap between the educational experiences between the two groups troublesome? This has apparently been a problem in one New Rochelle school.

Professional Criteria for School Planning

But in the smaller communities, while the practical problems have been great, they have been manageable: the chief obstacle in the way of a greater measure of integration has been the professional resistance of school administrators and the less professional resistance of school boards and parents, both of whom cannot envisage any alternative to the neighborhood school. And we must understand as well as we can the sources of this resistance. A recent Information Report by the American Society of Planning Officials on school site selection sums up the professional opinion of school experts, and vividly suggests how powerful are the sources of this resistance. On what basis after all have administrators, school boards, and planners, been urged up to now to make their school site selections? *On such grounds (among others) as the convenience of access* to the school on foot; its location in a pleasant area, not adjacent to railroads or industrial uses; costs of site; size of site; ease of development. The placing of a school so as to increase the possibility of school integration may be in direct contradiction to these and other criteria. But more than that, this integration criterion has as yet not found its way apparently into any professional list of criteria for site selection used by school authorities.

The defense of the neighborhood school has unquestionably at some times been a rationalization of prejudice. But it has also been the defense of a way of doing things which gave simple rules for deciding complicated matters; which had behind it the justification of tradition and long experience; which had become part of the normal expectations of experts and ordinary people, so that they often chose their residences on the assumption that their children would attend a certain school; and unquestionably it is also convenient, as anyone who has lived near an easily accessible school with small children can testify. To attack the "neighborhood school" as simply a rationalization for prejudice is silly; it contradicts the experience of too many people.

But this is not to say that the neighborhood school—or any other convenient facility—is an absolute. Parents send their children out of the neighborhood to get a special educational experience for them. Many Negro parents are obviously ready to do this. The problem of the neighborhood school principle arises when the kinds of things that parents have

done *voluntarily*—white and Negro—becomes *compulsory*.

Special Problems in the Central Cities

And this brings us to the dilemma of the big city, a tragic dilemma to which no large answer is possible. The procedures I have described above for the small community can all obviously be applied in the big city. But they do not penetrate effectively the heart of the Negro ghetto. The abandonment of scores of schools in the Negro ghetto, on the plan of the abandonment of the Negro school in the Negro section of a small community, would be frightfully expensive. It would lead to time-consuming bussing over much larger areas and intense crowding in the remaining schools. At best it would change 100 or 90 percent Negro schools to 50 percent Negro schools. The volatility of population in the big cities is such that even this might be only a temporary stage to 70 percent or 80 percent Negro schools. All this seems obvious enough; yet in effect this is the demand that is raised in the school boycotts in New York. The demand is not yet raised in Chicago and Cleveland because there the demonstrators have not yet been granted the right to free transfer and transportation at school expense that they have in New York. But when this right is granted and proves ineffective in reducing the huge ghetto concentrations, then the abandonment of neighborhood schools will unquestionably be demanded in these cities too.

In New York a number of proposals have sought to make some inroads on the Negro ghetto. The grandest is the idea of the educational park—a huge campus of schools, from nursery to junior college, providing for the educational needs of an area of a few hundred thousand people, which would have near equal numbers of whites and Negroes. If high schools with large districts are generally integrated even in New York, then large districts for elementary and junior high schools will have the same effect. This proposal is better proportioned to the scale of the problem than most, but there would be enormous difficulties in implementing it. To begin with, most professional opinion on schools urge that our elementary schools be *smaller* than the ones we typically build in large cities. The development of large schools, at least on the elementary level, has resulted from the drive for economy in education, not from any desire to improve education. If our society moves in the direction of placing greater emphasis on education, it is easier to forsee a shift to smaller schools than to huge educational parks. Second, in our crowded central cities it would be very hard to find sites for such large educational parks that would also be conveniently adjacent to large enough quantities of Negro and white children. Third, the rate of change in our cities is such that it is hardly likely that an educational park, when finally built, would be serving the same populations that its planners expected it to serve—it might be a segregated educational complex on an even vaster scale than any we now have.

The fate of the modest efforts of the New York City Board of Education to select school sites so as to further integration is revealing. A few new schools have opened as well-integrated schools. But some planned as integrated schools opened with a percentage of Negro and Puerto

Rican students high enough to make them de facto segregated from birth. It is not hard to understand this experience. The selection of school sites anywhere is a complex and time-consuming affair. The integration interest is only one interest involved; there is also the interest of the keepers of the public purse, looking for cheap sites; of political representatives trying to protect the interests of residents and businessmen to be displaced, or trying to get a school conveniently near a body of voters; and the perhaps illegal interest of those who have something to win or lose by having the city buy a certain site. There is the fact that the Negro population does increase, the edges of the Negro residential area do expand, and the school when it opens may well end up largely segregated, despite the best of intentions and as much foresight as we may have any reason to expect in urban affairs.

Voluntary Transfers and Special Schools

Various means of penetrating the Negro ghetto educationally are possible. First, the measures that increase freedom of Negro parents to select distant schools do have some effect: 16,000 children from Negro and Puerto Rican schools in New York now attend mostly white schools, on the basis of individual free choice. This amounts to about 85 percent of all the children in the de facto segregated schools; it is not a minor achievement, and could be expanded. Second, it has often been proposed that special schools and school facilities be set up in the ghetto areas. The idea here is to attract white students to these schools. The special school generally comes in conflict with the democratic attitudes of school administrators, who look with suspicion even on New York City's famous special high schools which require examination, and which have almost no Negro and Puerto Rican students. But suppose a number of such special schools, on the elementary as well as the high school level, were located in ghetto areas, perhaps in connection with urban renewal projects; and suppose special efforts were made to recruit children into these schools from the adjacent areas. The children of the neighborhood might be allowed priority in entrance or a lower entrance grade. The passion for education which so often *prevents* integration when white parents resist sending their children to Negro schools might thus be creatively harnessed to *further* integration. Just as parents fight for the privilege of sending their children in New York to the Hunter College elementary school, I cannot believe that many would not be willing to send their children to such schools if they were located in Harlem or the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

It should also be possible to attach the prestige of institutions to schools. One might envisage a situation in which famous universities, major church groups, well-known private schools might each take public schools, somewhat freed from the restrictions of belonging to a major school system, under their wing for special programs and experiments. These might be schools with still good racial mixture threatened by imbalance; or they might be schools in the heart of the ghetto areas that might hope to attract some white students on the basis of the institutional connection.

Obviously such proposals are marginal. Whether they affect 3, or 7, or 10 percent of the Negro children in the segregated schools, it is hard to envisage a situation in which they would satisfy the most extreme Negro demand for "integration now." There are also drawbacks to such proposals. Does open enrollment as in New York draw off the best students and make the task of teachers and of those who remain more difficult? I do not know, and no information has been published which gives any hint of the impact of the open enrollment program on the schools which are left behind. Would not a program of special schools and institution-affiliated schools draw off even more of the better students, to the detriment of the majority? These are considerations that would have to be taken up seriously by school planners.

The most energetic attack, using all means now envisioned, produces a measure of integration. It does not produce "full integration." But even a dictator with absolute power would be hard put to produce full integration. The only way to do this would be to arrange a mass migration of the Negroes out of the cities in the North and West in which they are concentrated. And this would involve measures that are beyond the power of school administrators, planners, or even city officials. There will unquestionably be tragic events in the fight over school integration. In the end, both sides will have to accept the fact that when we deal with populations of such size as the Negro, large numbers of Negro children, no matter what measures we adopt, will have to be educated in schools that are largely Negro. And "compensatory education," which is now so often attacked as a substitute for integration—and unquestionably in many places it is a substitute for some measure of integration that is possible—will be seen as an essential part of any program to improve the education of Negro children.

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Desegregation and the quality of public education are absolutely interdependent. A community that maintains segregated public schools suffers several kinds of damage. Whether the segregation is white or minority, students suffer. Psychological and educational research evidence is clear on this, in spite of qualifying complexities. Segregated students do not learn what they really must learn well today to prepare to live in the social world they will inhabit. Their performance on strictly academic tasks is often damaged as well.

Three kinds of learning are *impaired* by segregation: growth of knowledge about oneself; skills and attitudes for bridging differences between self and others; and, for minority group students at least, skills such as verbal and quantitative problem solving. Beyond impairing students, school segregation is not only unjust under the law, but it also handicaps city schools as systems. Education as a municipal service derives its level of excellence from the uniform distribution of school resources—facilities, personnel, location, and relation to other schools above and below each level.

Glazer's article fails to lead consistently from this premise, that a city *cannot* operate good schools and be segregated at the same time. In discovering how very difficult it is to desegregate de facto segregated schools in northern communities, Glazer carries on the search for substitutes. He neglects the fact that the very idea of school segregation of the northern public variety is only ten years old. A condition which has built up steadily since at least 1900 is certainly not going to yield to some quick solution within less than a decade.

Glazer writes about the problem, in other words, without full awareness of its educational priority. He is up to date on the facts about school segregation but out of date on its implications for education. Ghetto schools cannot be saturated with services and thus improved; minority students cannot be compensated intellectually for deprivation and injustice unless the main educational stigma is eliminated. Nor can one put a school in the heart of a residential ghetto and count on its high quality to attract outsiders across the ethnic barrier.

The problem is not that school desegregation is difficult to eliminate or reduce. The problem is that, without its elimination, a public service defaults in its prime obligation, with bad effects for individuals and for the future of the community as a whole. School site planners, like others engaged in making decisions about urban education, have not yet defined the problem clearly. When they do, when they see it as planners and educators have seen it in White Plains, New York, they define it this way: *to insure the best possible educational services within the limits of the public ability and disposition to pay, public school systems must be ethnically balanced.* If this position is held consistently, then the act of desegregating becomes an occasion for upgrading the school system generally. One change makes others possible.

Many planners and educators do not see it this way. This is no accident. The groups they attend to are groups of privileged majority residents, usually middle class whites. This constituency understands the problems very well. Special advantages in access to public services are not accidental. In the short run, some northern white parents stand to lose existing benefits derived from the status quo. The planner and the educator should avoid making excuses that seem to justify this group's fear of large-scale *change* in arrangements for schooling.

Children may be transported to different schools to achieve balance and quality, but the main hope in most cities lies in the revised use of renovated plants and in the strategic selection of sites for new schools. Planners can help educators become flexible in their notions of how buildings may be employed. In White Plains, for example, the Negro ghetto school, a really excellent physical plant, has been scheduled for use in 1964–5 as an adult education center and as a place for special vocational training for high school dropouts. *My point is that desegregation is feasible as well as necessary.* A main factor in its feasibility is a determination to reduce or eliminate ethnic segregation in the planning of school sites and the use of existing plant.